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[For a book review of 24: Peter, see 26: Berreman, AJ1 Tibet, category 136.]

2: Ramsay --i G-3 (no date) 1890 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4 121 114 128

PREFACE

No Dictionary has yet been published dealing with the language and customs of the several districts of Western Tibet, viz., Ladák, Nubra, Roopshoo, and Tángtsey, which are collectively spoken of by Europeans as "Ladák."

When first appointed here, I much felt the want of such a book, and, therefore, for my own use, commenced to compile notes and a vocabulary, which have, during the several years which have since passed, expanded to such dimensions that I last year asked the Government of India to print them. Recently the Government of India has kindly consented to do so.

The notes and vocabulary, which have been revised and much enlarged, are now published under the title of "Western Tibet." The title "Ladák" would for some reasons have been preferable had it not already been appropriated by General Cunningham for an excellent book published by him in 1854.

The present work was not originally intended for the Press, and it has no pretension to scholarly merit: indeed, in cases where the local idea is opposed to the correct classical view, the latter has been ignored, my object being to record only local ideas, customs, pronunciation, etc.

To my successors in office, and to any Europeans who may have occasion to visit this part of the world, I hope that "Western Tibet" may be useful, as supplying a practical guide to the language and customs of the country.

For the general public it is not intended.

H. RAMSAY, Captain,
British Joint-Commissioner, Ladák.

LEH:
20th June 1890.

their women occasionally turn Buddhist for the sake of marrying a well-to-do Ladáki, it is much more unusual for them to do so than for Ladaki women to turn Mahomedan. 563 583 797

It follows, therefore, that the árGHón population of Ladák, (confined almost entirely to the town of Leh and its immediate vicinity) is increasing more rapidly than the Buddhist population. [162]

The language of the arGHons is Tibetan, and they affect Mahomedanism. They go to the Musjid to pray, they can repeat the "Kalma" or "declaration of faith," and they know the ordinary ritual, this is enough for them, and they think themselves very good Mahomedans. 197 563

When left to themselves, the Ladákis were free from religious bigotry, and their womenkind scorned to hide their faces from the public gaze; but since the Dogra conquest of the country, they have (excepting for about 10 years, when there was an English Governor of Ladák), been ruled over by Wazirs, some of them Hindus and some of them Mahomedans, but all of them inhabitants of India, and the result is, that Ladák is being slowly, but surely, impregnated with the barbarous Indian ideas in connection with religion and matrimony. Already the árGHóns are beginning to shut their women up in Zananas, while the árGHón women as often as not, veil their faces when pass-[57]ing strangers in the streets. Child marriages are becoming more common, and the people are being taught that polyandry, that invaluable safe guard against over population, with its inevitable consequences of poverty, disease, misery and crime, is disgraceful. 798 178 177 583 562 595

Mr. Drew gives the ArGHóns a very bad character, he says "the half castes are for the most part thoroughly untrustworthy, and in other respects they are of worse character than either of the races they spring from." I have been in Ladák for over four years, and have had a good deal more experience of Ladákis than Mr. Drew had, and I have no hesitation in saying that he has maligned them, as a whole. 1148 563

Under the "nikah" system, it of course happens that in the course of half a dozen years, a woman may have had half a dozen different husbands, and as many different families. In such cases the children of all but the last husband, are homeless waifs, and develop into persons such as Mr. Drew describes, but it also frequently happens that "nikah" marriages are not 563 583 851 114

563 583 851 114 dissolved, and in such cases, the children have all the ordinary advantages of a home, and grow up very decent members of society. The same remark applies to ArGHóns of other than the first generation. In other words, if ArGHóns are scoundrels, it is owing to the unfortunate circumstances under which they grew up, and not to any inherent defect in the breed.

A good ArGHón is the best man in Ladák; he has more intelligence, more courage, and more enterprise than the Ladak Buddhist, and so far as I know he is not a whit less trustworthy.

181 105 [4r3] The ordinary Ladák Buddhists are as nice a race as one could find anywhere, they are a cheery, simple, honest, easy going people, but they must ever remain a subject race, for they are not clever, and they are cowardly and unambitious. They all have land, and their one desire is to be left in peace to live on the land. They have no desire to be rich, and so long as they have enough to live upon, they strongly object to earning money by [439] the sweat of their brow. They do a little trade with the Tibetans of Lhása territory, but they have no commercial instincts or 563 4r3 443 aptitude. The ArGHóns on the other hand, as a rule, have no land, and they therefore have to keep their wits about them to earn their bread. They are far better traders than the Buddhists, they are quite ready to work for money, and they generally speak two languages viz., Tibetan and Turki or Tibetan and Kashmiri.

In physique they are certainly equal to the Buddhists, and [illegible] personal appearance, more particularly the women, they are far superior to them.

137 114 762 [58] HARE--reeong or reebong. Ladákis consider that hares are of the same "genus" as asses. Cunningham (p. 203) says that Tibetans do not eat hares, in Ladák this is not so.

562 563 HAREM--âney (or bómo) duksa khângpa. The Ladáki women are not confined in harems, nor do they wear veils when in the streets. The ArGHons (see "Half caste") are beginning to think it a mark of respectability to shut up their women.

241 HARROW--sarhniom (the Indian harrow, merely a log of wood, which when drawn by oxen over the fields, breaks up the clods and covers the newly sown seed with earth. It is not used in Ladák), vat (the Ladák hand harrow, like a rake, only with a smooth surface instead of teeth).

000 HAUNTED--drey-zhukskhan or gongpó-zhukskhan. The former

think the Ladákis show much inclination to join the Moravian congregation. A Roman Catholic Mission has more recently been established here, and may possibly prove more successful, as a proselytizing agency, for apparently, there exists an extraordinary similarity between the mystical ceremonial of the Lamaistic ritual, and that of the Romish Church. Religious considerations apart, the Ladákis would do well to adhere to the faith of their forefathers, for Christian Missionaries will never agree that Christianity and polyandry can exist together, they will therefore induce their disciples to drop the practice, though on the day that polyandry ceases to be general, the sun of the country's prosperity will set for ever. Polyandry and Lamaism most effectively check the increase of population, and the consequence is that every one is fairly well off, the people are happy and crime is rare. With a non-Buddhist population, all this would be changed, the country would be rapidly overpopulated, and the people steeped in poverty, misery and crime. The three acres, a cow and a wife principle may be well enough in countries having a landed gentry to be despoiled, or vacant lands to be taken up, but for Ladák, where there is no land to be got, and no country suitable for the emigration of a surplus population, it would amount to an economic error, to encourage the introduction of any innovation, having an undeniable tendency towards the ultimate abolition of the practice of polyandry.

797 595 779 114 [674] [311] [167]

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MOLE--SHmeya or rmeya. Ladákis think that a mole on a woman's face is a beauty. 826

MONK--Láma (general,) geylong (a full monk), geytshul or tsunchhung or chhungjung (a neophyte), but see under heading "Láma." 792

MOP--sumba. In Ladák a mop is made by fastening on to the end of a stick, a piece of sheep skin, with the wool left on it.

MORNING--hngamo (general), ngeema tsikSHar (sun, rise) ngeema-tsalm breakfast time about(10 o'clock). ngeema ngeenggung (mid-day). For "good morning," the word "joo" is ordinarily used; but if a layman addresses a Láma, or when one Láma wishes another "good morning," the word "chhaktshal" is used. 195 805

121 Victory"/ which, like so many others, has unfortunately fallen a victim to the inflation. The first part, dealing with the youth, was actually printed there in ten installments. Out of regard for a larger circle of readers, I have deemed it advisable to maintain the (purely fictitious) form of narrative. In this I was encouraged by the agreement of many an expert who advised me to stick to this mode of narrative. The lively, often dramatic accounts of Gau Puntsog were an incentive in themselves for choosing the fictional form, although he was actually not telling a story, but was often describing events that really took place. I consider this work of mine as an attempt to bring the curious people, the Tibetans, with their culture and their mixed religion, Lamaism, which are so difficult for us Westerners to understand, somewhat closer to the comprehension /10/ of those interested than most travel accounts are as a rule capable of doing.
Towards this end the narrative form will probably supply the writer with a more effective means for acquainting the reader with the thoughts and sensations, and with the innermost motives for the actions of a people, than the purely systematic enumeration and description of customs and practices could do.

The narrative ends with the early death of the main character, Drogpa Namgyal. Then there follows, in the manner of a supplement, a description of the funerary customs from the pen of the Tibetan Joseph Gergan in Leh, which I have translated and supplied with annotations.

[114] With the hearty consent of my beloved former colleague, Professor Dr A. H. Francke, I included in the narrative, during his lifetime, a part of the Tibetan wedding songs collected by him, partly in his, and partly in my own translation. Perhaps this will also serve the purpose of possibly finding a larger circle of readers for this valuable collection by Francke, which hitherto has only been known to a small group of experts in the field. By giving a literal rendering of a number of the song texts, proverbs, book titles and the like in Tibetan I aimed to be useful to those who have a knowledge of Tibetan or who are occupied with the study of the language. Tibetan has its own script, formed after the Indian Gupta script; it has 30 letters. Wherever it seemed advisable, I have added the names and literal citations in transcription (in Latin script, following Lepsius' system). This system supplies a number of signs for sounds lacking in German which have also been used so far as was possible.

The Author.

stood crying next to the lonpo. The latter continued, placing his hand on the child's little head: "Yeshu will one day carry off the victory over all Buddhas and gods of the land. And even if we old people will no longer accept his doctrine, at least these children will do so. And then happiness and peace will enter the dark snow-covered land of Tibet."

BURIAL CUSTOMS AMONG THE BUDDHISTIC TIBETANS

by

Josef Gergan (Leh, Ladakh)

Translated from the Tibetan and annotated

by

S. H. Ribbach

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FOREWORD

The work that I append here, dealing with burial customs and interment rites among the Tibetans, was written by Josef Gergan in Leh, Ladakh, a full Tibetan by race. Since my activity as a missionary came to a premature conclusion through the World War, after 21 years of service in Ladakh, it was not possible for me to conclude my studies in this very difficult field there on the spot. Gergan has done his work with thoroughness. As he has written to me, he has extensively questioned the abbot of a neighboring monastery belonging to the reformed Geldanpa sect, as well as a lama of the likewise reformed Drugpa sect (abrugpa), and also a soothsayer and magician (onpo) of the Bon religion. The latter religion stands next to Buddhism and

• 114 possibly holds an even stronger spell than it does, over the minds of the Tibetans. The information that Gergan received from these men he has written exactly. The Bon priest even supplied him with his "Introduction on how to set the death horoscope," so that he could copy it. Gergan gives in the following study a number of samples of this wisdom of the soothsayers and astrologers, in which frequently the wisdom of the old magicians of Assyria, Babylonia, and Persia, is reflected.

I have translated Gergan's essay from the Tibetan and have provided it with explanatory notes; for the rest (except for small changes in the order, which seemed necessary), I have changed nothing about the essay. What is here presented is therefore a reproduction of the original Tibetan document, which is faithful to the letter. The additions in parentheses and the majority of the headings are done by myself.

Unlike the reports by Emil Schlagintweit (Buddhism in Tibet), by Waddell (The Buddhism of Tibet or Lamaism), and the information that I am able to find scattered here and there in the travel accounts by Sven Hedin, Tafel, and others concerning the funeral practices of the Tibetans, Josef Gergan's presentation goes into details to a great extent, and it indicates by a concrete example the richly furnished cult of the dead among the Tibetans. In the same example is reflected the picture of the religion /210/ of Tibet, Lamaism. This religion presents itself to us as a confused tangle of elements belonging to the old animistic religion of the people, of Buddhism, of the Bon religion which penetrated into the country at approximately the same time, of Hinduism, and of other factors. But here our ears are also struck by the cry of fear of a tortured people's soul, tortured by the double fear: First of all of retribution for one's own sinful acts, through the sinister karma; and secondly of the numberless spirits that threaten the soul in all its existential forms both in this world and in the Beyond. And we witness the terrible thing, that the person so racked is driven into the arms of avaricious priests and magicians who swindle and deceive him in the most shameless manner.

S. H. Ribbach.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

PART III.

LAHAUL AND SPITI.

● 114

The following pages are not intended as a complete and independent account of Lâhaul and Spiti; but merely as supplementary to the general description of the district contained in Part I, and of the sub-division contained in Part II. Matters special to Lâhaul and Spiti are here discussed; and are, for convenience of reference, arranged under the same headings as in Part I. But for much that is common to the whole district, and especially for statistics, Parts I and II must be consulted.

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[AJ4 in black]

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

mander, and took Spiti as her dowry. After this[1] Spiti remained a province of Ladákh, but from its remote and inaccessible situation the country was always left very much to govern itself. An official was sent from Léh as *garpón* or governor, but he generally disappeared after visits paid at harvest time, and left the real administration to be carried on by the *wazír* and other hereditary officers of Spiti, who again were completely controlled by the parliament of *gatpos* or *lambardárs* of villages and *tappas*. This is the state of affairs described in Moorcroft's and Gerard's Travels as existing near fifty years ago, and, with the exception of the absence of the *garpón*, affairs are managed in much the same way at the present day. Spiti was always liable to be worried by forays. Gerard mentions that in A.D. 1776, or thereabouts, the Basáharís held the fort of Dankar for two years; and in Moorcroft's Travels Mr. Trebeck gives an account of a foray which had been made just before his visit by a large body of armed men from Kúlu. The Spiti people were not a warlike race, and paid a small tribute to all the surrounding States by way of black mail to escape being plundered. After the Sikhs had annexed Kúlu in 1841, they sent up a force to plunder Spiti. The Spiti men, according to their usual tactics, retreated into the high uplands, leaving their houses in the valley and the monasteries to be plundered and burnt. A few straggling plunderers from the Sikh force who ventured up too high were surprised and killed, and a few men were wounded on either side in skirmishes. The Sikhs retired when they had got all the plunder they could get, and did not attempt to annex the country to Kúlu or separate it from Ladákh. That was not done till A. D. 1846, when on the cession of the trans-Satlaj States after the first Sikh war, the British Government, with the object of securing a road to the wool districts of Cháng Thán, added Spiti to Kúlu and gave the Jammu Mahárája other territory in exchange. In the autumn of the same year General (then Captain) Cunningham and Mr. Vans-Agnew fixed the boundary between Spiti and Ladákh and Chinese Tibet. For the first three years the collection of revenue was farmed to Mansukh Dás, *wazír* of the Rája of Basáhir. In the autumn of 1849, Major Hay, Assistant Commissioner of Kúlu, went to Spiti and took over charge. He spent the best part of the winter there, and submitted a valuable report, which was printed by order of Government: in it and in a tour in Spiti, published by Mr. Egerton, Deputy Comissioner of Kángra in 1864, a very full description of the country will be found.

[725]

[114]

1 [i.e., the year 1720 --Analyst]

6x Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Chapter III, B.
Social and Religious Life.
Custom of inheritance in Spiti.

valley this right does not appear to be so clearly established: the objections of near kinsmen are sometimes attended to, or a field or two given to them by way of compromise. Kinsmen, however, are of course very few, as the only way in which a younger brother can found a separate family is by becoming son-in-law and adopted son to another landholder. Such a man might claim on behalf of his younger son, but not on his own behalf or that of his eldest son, as it is a rule that for each holding or allotment there must be a separate resident head of the house to do service for it, as well as pay the revenue. Sometimes an illegitimate descendant of the family, who has been living on the estate as a *yáng champa*, will claim as a kinsmen and succeed, but he cannot be said to have any absolute right or title. Unmarried daughters of a landholder are entitled to maintenance from their father, brother, or nephew, that is from the head of the family for the time being; he must either let them live in his house on equal terms with his own family, or must give them a separate house and plot of land; they forfeit their claim if they go away to live in any other man's house, but no other act of theirs will entitle their father or his successor to cast them off, or resume the house and plot of land once given during their life-time. Many women live and die as spinsters in their father's or brother's houses: their chance of marriage is small, as all younger sons become monks, and the monks are bound to celibacy (except in Pín *kothí*), and bigamy is only allowed in the case of the head of a family who has no son or expectation of getting one by the wife he first marries. In case the brother-in-law of a widow does not come out of the monastery to take his deceased brother's place, or in case there are no brothers-in-law, the widow can marry again, and does not forfeit her interest in the estate by so doing so long as she continues to reside on it: on the contrary, in default of issue by the first husband, the children by the second will succeed to the estate. She can marry any person of the same class as herself: if there happens to be a near kinsman available, she would be expected to select him, but whether it would be absolutely obligatory on her to do so is not quite clear. A marriage feast is given to celebrate the event.

Customs and ceremonies connected with births, marriages, funerals, &c.

The best general account of the social customs of the Botiás will be found in General Cunningham's *Ladákh*; but in the country now under discussion, and especially in Láhaul, the practice of the present day be found to differ in some details. The religious ceremony consists in almost all cases in the simple reading of prayers or passages from the holy books by a *lámá*, while the whole company of men and women sit round with clasped hands and down-cast eyes, and repeat the verses after the *lámá*. The social celebration of all these events consists mainly of feasts in which much *cháng* is drunk. In Láhaul the decisive point in the negotiation for a betrothal is the acceptance or refusal of a pot of *cháng* sent to the father of the bride: if he drinks, the affair is settled without more words. In Láhaul, polyandry, or the taking to wife of one woman by several brothers, is a recognised institution, and is very general; the object is to prevent the division of estates. Mr. Lyall remembers a case which came before him in which one of two brothers living in polyandry much wished to separately marry a girl by whom he had had an illegitimate

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Hindú ideas and prejudices. The process has been going on in some degree ever since the Rájas of Kúlu annexed the country, but it has been greatly accelerated of late years by the notice taken by our Government of the Láhaulis and their headmen, and by their contact with Hindús more orthodox and exclusive than those of Kúlu and Chamba. The force of attraction which Hindú exclusiveness brings to bear upon outlying tribes is enormous, and seems to be in no way weakened by the fact that the Government is in the hands of Christians. That fact of political subjection leaves the Hindús no other vent for their pride of race but this exclusiveness, and therefore heightens its value. Moreover, the consolidation of many Hindú races into one great empire increases the power which Hindúism has always had of drawing outsiders into its circle, for in social matters the empire is Hindú, and as Hindús the Láhaulis are free citizens, while as Buddhists and Botiás (Tibetans) they would be left out in the cold. The Láhauli now looks upon the name of Boti as a term of reproach. One of the headmen, when in my camp on the borders of Ladákh, met his own brother-in-law, a Boti of Ladákh, and refused to eat with him for fear that my Hindú servants might tell tales against him in Kúlu and Kángra."

And in 1881 Mr. Anderson wrote :—

"There are Buddhists in Láhaul, though there is a tendency now, as at the former Census, to record all as Kanet Hindús. *Lámás* are generally of the Kanet caste, though there are, I am told, cases where even *thákurs* have become *lámás*. The Kanet cuts his *chóti* as does a *gosain*, and becomes the disciple of some *lámá*, and this may be even after marriage. The *lámás* of Láhaul (Drukhpa class) may marry. Their sons belong to their father's original caste. *Lámás* sometimes cease to belong to the priesthood, allow their *chótis* to grow, and are again received as Kanets. Women become nuns and live in the monasteries, where the morality is far from pure. It is common for cases of seduction to occur, and then the abbot imposes a fine (*dharmdand chostim*) in the shape of a feast to the fraternity. These facts show how intimately Hindúism and Buddhism are connected in Láhaul. It is still common for both Bráhmans and *lámás* to be present at marriages and funerals."

Religion of Láhaul and Spiti.

The religion of Spiti is the Tibetan system of Buddhism, of which an excellent account is given in General Cunningham's *Ladákh*. The religion of Láhaul is the same, but mixed up with some ideas and observances borrowed from Hindúism, and with a substratum of the worship of local spirits and demons, which has already been described as existing in Kúlu, and which appears to be the primeval religion of the country of the high Himalayas inhabited by Hindú races. The following description of the religion of Láhaul was written down at Mr. Lyall's request by the Reverend Mr. Heyde in November 1868. His long residence among the people, by whom he is invariably respected, and great knowledge of their language and customs, ensure its accuracy :—

"The religion of Láhaul has been for a long time, and is still essentially Buddhism. It is, however, difficult to ascertain at what time this religion was introduced, as there do not exist any historical documents in Láhaul itself, and little reliance can be placed upon the vague traditions preserved by even the best informed men, such as *Thákur* Tára Chand and others. From their accounts, however, it may be gathered that long ago the kings of Ladákh, or rather a branch of the family (which at that time

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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Mr. Barnes thus describes the assessment he made at the Regular Settlement:—

"The revenue assessed upon this tract was fixed entirely with reference to the trading pursuits of the inhabitants and the pastoral qualities of the country. The soil does not yield sufficient produce to maintain the people, much less to pay a land-tax. The *jama* levied by our predecessors and maintained at the Summary Settlement contained two items which, had they been ascertained at the time, would have been at once remitted. One was a demand of Rs. 500 annually for *sirâki*, or fines, which the people had to bear as an additional burden, and to distribute it as they best could among themselves. The second item was also for Rs. 500 on account of grazing dues exacted from the owners of sheep who resorted to Lâhaul in the rainy season, as that region, being across the snowy range, is beyond the reach of the periodical monsoons. This revenue would be legitimate enough, only the graziers were residents of our own territory, who during the winter months had already paid a grazing tax of Rs. 2-8-0 per 100 head in the valleys of Kângra. It would not be fair to make these flocks pay double rates, and, as the tax could be collected with greater facility in Kângra than in Lâhaul, I determined to remit this item also. Still the balance which devolved upon the inhabitants of Lâhaul pressed heavily upon them. The trade, moreover, had become greatly depreciated. The wool and produce of Ladâkh were diverted by order of Mahârâja Gûlab Singh to routes which led through his own country; for by their passage through our territory the Mahârâja lost the opportunity of exacting transit tolls, and our accession had thrown open the carrying trade to any speculator who chose to venture under the rule of our predecessors; the fear of plunder, and the exactions of the Customs Officers, left the trade entirely in the hands of the Lâhaulis. On these considerations I determined to reduce the assessment in Lâhaul, and I was fortified in this conclusion by the concurrent testimony of travellers, such as Captain A. Cunningham and Captain William Hay, Assistant Commissioner, regarding the poverty of the country and the destitute condition of the inhabitants. The Summary Settlement was fixed originally at Rs. 4,200, but this was lowered the second year on the urgent remonstrance of the people to Rs. 3,900; and finally at the revised Settlement I considered an annual *jama* of Rs. 2,200 as much as the *talûka* could bear."

According to Major Hay, the king or Gîâlpo of Ladâkh prior to 1839 took as revenue for Spiti Rs. 396 cash, 200 *khals* or *kâts* or grain, 100 *mandis* or iron crow-bars, 24 pieces of Barmour cloth, and 132 reams (*shâgu*) of paper. The crow-bars, or the iron to make them, came from Bashâir and were paid for out of a common fund; the other manufactured articles can be made in every house in the country. The paper is made from the fibre of a small plant or grass which grows wild in abundance. The cloth is of very close texture and very lasting. Spiti also paid a tribute of trifling amount to the Râjas of Bashâir and Kûlu, not in recognition in any sense of their sovereignty, but for the privilege of free access for trading purposes. Major Hay's account is, no doubt, generally accurate, but there are some mistakes in it, principally with regard to the grain revenue, the nature of which he does not appear to have fully understood. Each holding was assessed with a fixed number of measures of grain.

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12; Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

laid my plans carefully. I canvassed the problem of porters, of food, and of equipment at Ranikhet. I planned to return in June 1951, enter the Himalayas through Almora, and take a long trek to Kailas, a historic place of pilgrimage in Tibet.

These well-laid plans were changed by events. By the spring of 1951 Tibet was no longer hospitable to Americans. So I moved my operations westward and designed a trek from Manali to Leh. Even so the venture remained what it had been from the beginning—a mountain expedition. And the book was to be about glaciers, high passes, blue poppies, rhododendrons, snow leopards, geology, Himalayan sunsets, and the folk songs of the trails. It was in other words to be a mountain book.

But I planned in ignorance. Before I got where I was going I realized that I was traveling Central Asia as witness to one of the most dramatic and important political stories of the century. The mountains remained, serving as the backdrop for the story; but the story was new, exciting, and disturbing, with precious little relevance to the lofty peaks which looked down on the events that shaped the destiny of Central Asia.

Central Asia is mostly in Russia and Tibet. But the northern stretch of India and the outposts of Pakistan that nestle in the Karakorams are also Central Asia. They are *one world;* the Communist regimes that lie to the north are a *second world;* we of the West, propelled by events so fast that we have little time to learn what we have done yesterday or where we are going tomorrow, are still a *third world.* It is the interplay of these *three worlds* that furnishes the underlying theme of the book.

I went first to Afghanistan, where I visited Kabul, the capital, and then turned north and crossed the Hindu Kush by the Shibar Pass, dropping down to the ancient Buddhist town of Bamian. Then I retraced my steps to Kabul and returned to West Pakistan over the Khyber Pass, stopping at the city of Peshawar. From there I went north to the Kingdom of Swat for a brief visit. Then I flew the western stretch of the Himalayas to Gilgit and took some trips into the area that stretches along the Sinkiang border. These journeys preceded the long trek which I made on foot and by pack train from Manali to Leh in the Indian Himalayas. Yet I

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

have placed the account of the Himalayan crossing first, because that arrangement facilitates the telling of the political part of these chronicles.

The political story cannot be understood unless the country, the people, their institutions and problems, their worries and superstitions are known. One must walk or ride vast and empty regions to know these things about Central Asia. This is not easily done. It requires great physical exertion and adventure into high and distant places. This volume undertakes to present the grass-root environment of the area. I searched out villagers and goat-herds, wandering Tibetans, the men and women who bring the sheep trains down from Sinkiang and Tibet, lamas, and local officials. I tried to learn from them the political, economic, and social scheme of things in this area. I ate and drank and slept with them. I tried to lose myself in their environment in order to see the world through their eyes, to find the measure of their loyalties, to discover their aspirations, and to come to know their worries and fears. When the rigors of the region and the struggles of the people are known, the appalling nature of some of the major problems facing the West will be better understood.

An American mountain book on the Himalayas is yet to be done. If this volume inspires or encourages that project, there will be reward enough. For the Himalayas are the superlative among all peaks—the place which future generations of Americans should make a playground and a laboratory. There are untold peaks to climb, fauna and flora to discover, geological formations to explore, and high trails to traverse. The immediate rewards are exciting and untold; and there are rewards beyond the mountains themselves. One who goes to the Himalayas must first traverse the plains of Pakistan and India. He cannot do that without coming into touch with problems and people that will reach his heart and his mind. If he goes with humility and is patient, he will return with understanding; and understanding of Asia by the West will be the greatest reward which any Himalayan trek can offer.

WILLIAM O. DOUGLAS

Washington, D.C., June 12, 1952

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER II

The Past Story of Ladak

A VERY cursory glance at the country suffices to show how ancient their civilization must be. Almost every village has its ruins of castle or fort or monastery, perched up on the rocky hillside in apparently inaccessible positions, and in most places will be found the village bard who can recount strange tales of long ago, often breaking out into song in the course of his narrative. But there are many written records, too, for the Buddhist lamas have inscribed the happenings of olden times with golden ink on beautifully polished black paper (in fairy-land surely all records are kept in gold !), and Kings have acquired much merit for themselves by building long prayer walls, and much gratitude from the student of historical research by inserting a tablet of stone on which the name of the builder and certain valuable bits of historical information are engraved. By the laborious study of such records Dr. Francke, the modern historian of Western Tibet, has been able to piece together a connected, albeit fragmentary history of the country. A brief glance at this will give us the historical background necessary for the understanding of present conditions in Ladak.

The first mention of the country seems to have been made by Herodotus, who describes a land of wonderful ants, who in burrowing out their homes in the earth threw up gold. These ants were said to be nearly as large as dogs, and still more ferocious, with a keen sense of smell and great fleetness of

14: Asboe M-3 (no date) 1947 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

476
556 receives half the crop in return for working the fields, the landowner being
436 responsible for the water-supply and the payment of land revenue.

427 In Ladakh, as well as in Tibet proper, where the country to a large extent is sterile, the Malthusian law, by which "there is a tendency on the
161 part of the population to increase at a greater ratio than its power of pro-
595 ducing food," actually operates. There have been writers who with great
181 plausibility advanced the view that the practice of fraternal polyandry (plurality of husbands) was intended to combat this tendency. It is more likely, however, that the custom of polyandry derives its origin from a crude state of society and originally had no such economic significance. On the other hand, it is quite possible to conceive of a condition of affairs in this arid and sandy country likely to cause widespread famine or continual warfare. Actually neither occurs, for, together with polyandry, groups of families live in one or more houses attached to the paternal property. Moreover, Tibetans generally are not warlike, and the universal virtue of hospitality and the giving of alms to all and sundry acts as a kind of safety valve against famine and war.

241 Farming activities at the outset are mildly controlled by religious
787 sanctions, and the peasants consult the oracle dictated by the Buddhist
805 priesthood as regards the auspicious moment at which farming operations may proceed. In practice, however, the auspicious time for ploughing and seeding coincides with the time at which the sun strikes certain prominent mountain peaks or cliffs at sunrise, meridian, or sunset. For
[114] instance, in a village in which I lived for ten years, a chart of the time of day was drawn up covering a whole year, based on the moment when the sun set over a particular snow-capped peak. The local astrologer—usually a lama or Buddhist priest—also compiles a calendar which serves as a guide to the farmers who can read.

241 In spite of the aridity of the country and the lack of moisture, the
134 harvests of Ladakh cannot be said to be insufficient to feed the people. The soil, however unpromising, has the peculiarity of yielding good crops year after year without its being allowed to lie fallow and without, in many cases, any attempt to cultivate an alternation of crops.

241 When a farmer contemplates opening up waste land he must first clear the ground of obstructions, such as rocks, stones, and rough grasses, and then contrive to level the surface. Everywhere you see fields constructed in the form of terraces along the sides of the hills, the stones and top layer of the earth being brought down from a higher to a lower level so as to form a wall or buttress. These parallel terraces of levelled-out land are supplied with water conducted in channels from a mountain torrent caused through the melting of glaciers or accumulations of snow. Another ingenious device for obtaining what will one day become arable land is that of building stone dikes across the sloping sides of mountains near their base. These are constructed by the peasants to assist the deposit of soil and gravel by the melting snows. They are left for years and sometimes generations for the operation of nature in preparation for the labour of man, so that in due course a sterile declivity becomes an accessible flight of terraces of cultivation.

The soil thus reclaimed from the stony and barren mountain sides has

18: Asboe M-3 (no date) 1936 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

SACRIFICES IN WESTERN TIBET. *By the Rev.*

782 771 609 **97** Propitiatory sacrifices have always held an important place in the religion practised in Tibet. Human sacrifices were not unknown in ancient times in this country, and even to-day stories are told of foundation sacrifices of humans and animals to ensure buildings and town walls from the attacks of evil spirits.

It is, however, difficult to obtain detailed accounts of this practice, as the Tibetans are very reluctant to relate instances of this to Europeans.

782 173 [14] Two stories of the last human sacrifices in Lahoul are extant to this day, and as they agree in every detail with those related by Dr. Francke in his 'History of Western Tibet,' I shall make a somewhat lengthy quotation from this writer's account of them.

[241] "A man had to be killed every year for the "benefit of the fields of the community. The "peasants were to offer the victim in turns. "(They probably kept slaves, and these were "generally killed). One year it was a poor "widow's turn, and as she had no servants it "was understood that her only son was to be "sacrificed. Whilst she was weeping sadly "about this, a wandering hermit came to her "house and offered to die in the place of her "son, if she would feed him well until the day "of execution. The widow gladly accepted the "offer, and on the appointed day the hermit "was led with much noise before the wooden "idol of the god of the fields. When the "executioner walked up with his axe to the "hermit, the latter said: 'Wait a little, dear "'friend; lend me your axe, and let me see if "'the god really wants to take my life.' Then "he stepped with the axe before the idol and "said: 'Well, Lord of the Fields, if you really "'want my life, take it please; if not, I shall "'take yours.' As there was no reply, the "hermit raised his axe and cut the idol in "pieces. Then he threw the fragments into
782 "the river, and everybody went home."

173 114 The other story related to me concerning the last human sacrifice in Manchat (and which is supported by Dr. Francke's account

782 of it) was that of a woman who was buried alive.

173

114 Local tradition has it that she pronounced a curse upon the land with her last breath. She prayed that none of the inhabitants should grow older than she was at her death; and the people still believe that her curse is being carried into effect nowadays.

782 In modern times human sacrifices are substituted by animal ones, and in the various valleys of Western Tibet the sacrificial customs, though slightly different in detail, are at any rate uniform in principle.

The method of sacrificing animals is that of making a deep incision sufficiently large to permit the introduction of the hand, and then tearing the heart out, after which that organ is offered to the local deity.

In Kyelang one sheep is sacrified in this way during the spring of each year, each household taking its turn in providing the sacrificial sheep.

At Chugtra, a neighbouring village, the local god is regarded with great fear, and it is thought that no less than twelve sheep, not to mention large quantities of flour and butter, must be offered to this ferocious deity annually.

Eight of these sheep, chosen from the communal flock, are slaughtered simultaneously; their hearts being torn out, and certain savoury parts of the carcases offered to the idol, whilst part is consumed by the people. The remaining four sheep are similarly sacrificed at intervals of one month.

[231] It is also customary, when slaughtering animals for food, to tear the hearts out of them.

At Yanaped, a yak is sacrified triennially. It is first well fed, and then on the day of sacrifice the beast is heavily loaded and driven hither and thither by the people, who abuse it atrociously by throwing stones, clods of earth, or anything they can lay their hands on, until it is reduced to a state of utter exhaustion. It is then seized, and its heart having been torn out, is immolated.

Sheep are frequently similarly dealt with, a plank of wood being securely tied on its back,

121 well known and have not been extensively
• 114 studied or recorded. In a book by Pro-
171 fessor Westermark, *"The History of Human Marriage,"* which is possibly the best study of this question throughout the world, covering cases of differing family organization, it is only mentioned that polyandry exists in America to some extent, mostly in South America on the coast of Ecuador and also in British and Dutch Guiana; that it exists on the North American continent among some of the American Indian aborigines and among the Eskimos; and that it also occurs in Tibet, in India, mostly in the Himalayas, but also in southwest India, in the Melanesian archipelago, and among some primitive peoples of the Siberian plains. In Africa, it is also known in parts of Uganda and in some tribes of Southeast Africa among the Hottentots.

121 Thus, I had quite a large choice of loca-
114 tions to study polyandrous peoples. I
128 chose India and Tibet because, from the abovementioned book, I realized that the Tibetians had perhaps the best-preserved and most efficiently organized polyandry of them all, and that in India there seemed to be a number of unrecorded polyandrous peoples which were worth a trip to study on the spot. Then, too, both Tibet and India seemed to be healthful places for an anthropologist to work. In 1937, my wife and I decided to go out there and look for the polyandrous peoples. We visited the Tibetans for eight months in 1938, the Todas in southern India for six months in the summer of 1939, and the Tiyas on the southwest coast of India, in Malabar, for the remaining time, which was roughly about a month, until World War II broke out and we had to interrupt our activities. I shall present my findings in the same order, and end with a synopsis of the whole, giving you my conclusions as to, first, the psychoanalytical results of the investigation and, second, the anthropological results as well.

121 *Tibetan Polyandry.* We visited the
101 western part of Tibet because, having

121 reached northwestern India, or, rather, the
101 foothills of the Himalayas on the Indian
side, we heard that a certain amount of
polyandry existed among the hill people.
121 We went up to where they were reported
101 to exist and found that polyandry had died
131 out, but kept on looking further until we
595 actually ended up on the Tibetan plateau,
103 about 12,000 feet up, and found a very
active polyandrous society among both the
nomads of Rupchu (a plateau bordering
on Kashmir and Tibet) and the inhabi-
[162] tants of Ladak. The latter is a province
of what today is the state of Kashmir,
entirely inhabited by Tibetans and situated
in the upper Indus valley at the point
where the Indus leaves Tibet and enters
Indian territory. Later, we went towards
central Tibet and investigated polyandry
in Sikhim, which is a little state bordering
on Tibet and sandwiched between the
states of Nepal and Bhutan in the east.

121 The people living in western Tibet live
131 in an isolated position. The country is
595 very barren and, because of the altitude
114 and the difficulties of travel, the people are
very inaccessible. These, naturally, are
excellent conditions for such a peculiar
custom as polyandry to survive and I am
sure that, if Tibetan polyandry is so active
and well-preserved as it is there, it is due
to the physical environment which favors
isolation among these people. In the area
we visited, 90 per cent of the population
was polyandrous and I understand that
nearly all the inhabitants of the vast
[14] Tibetan country, of which there are some-
thing like three million, are polyandrous,
though, of course, it would take actual
first-hand investigation to be absolutely
sure that this is the case.

595 The polyandry practised among the Ti-
121 betans is of both the fraternal and the non-
fraternal type, that is, when a young lady
marries a young man she either marries
all his brothers regardless of age (she can
even be the wife of children born after her
marriage), or she can take as many hus-
bands as she desires, without their being
related as brothers, at her discretion. I

593 home, in turn, while the others go off on commercial journeys. This idea of one brother staying in the house and looking after the common wife is what many anthropologists believe to be the explanation as to why these people practice polyandry; that is, so that they can be sure the children issuing from the marriage will be at least from the same family, even if they are not those of one particular man. Thus, during the war, I saw a Sikh officer (an Englishman) who received a request from one of his soldiers to go home because, he said, his wife had had a child. The officer said, "But you have been away for two years, so how can your wife have had a child? Is that any reason to go back?" And the Sikh answered, "Yes, but my brother was at home," and then retracted his words, because the Sikhs, at least, do not like admitting they are polyandrous, though it certainly exists in the northern part of the Punjab, among them as well as among the Hindu *jats*.

In Leh, I was struck by the fact that, in most families, there seems to be no organization at all. Complete promiscuity apparently exists between the brothers and the common wife, especially during the winter months when the place is very often snowed in completely and the whole family lives in one room because they have not enough fuel to heat the whole house. This I found out both from questioning the people and from hearing details from Europeans who have gone into the question before.

593 •114 121 201 152 Oddly enough, however, in all anthropological books about polyandry, one hears that the brothers, in turn, go in to the wife and signal their presence in the nuptial room to the other brothers by leaving some mark at the door. They either put their sword against the door or their stick, or leave their shoes or hat outside, or hang their beads on a hook at the door as a signal that they are in with the common wife and the other brothers may have no access to the room. When I examined this first-hand, however, and also in the

593 case of other polyandrous peoples like the
114 Todas and Tiyas, I found that they say
121 this is not practised any longer, but that it
201 used to be a custom two or three genera-
152 tions back. I have never found a case of its actually being practised today and, for this reason, I have strong psychoanalytical suspicions that it has never been practised, but that this story has been put out by polyandrous people as an indication of, what I should call popularly, "wishful thinking." Each of the brothers would like, in some way, to have the common wife all to himself and would like to manifest this virility on his part by hanging up some emblem at the door. The sword, the stick, the shoes, the hat, and even the beads are all, psychoanalytically, symbols of virility, and it seems as if the men would *like* to have this custom which, possibly, has never existed, and each of them gains a certain satisfaction in thus imagining a virility which he feels he does not have.

181 The morality of the polyandrous people
595 is very high. I mean by this that, as poly-
178 andry is an institutionalized social system, they stick to it very strictly. If you ask missionaries who have been among polyandrous people, they will, of course, tell you that polyandry is a very immoral practice. But if you speak to the people themselves, they, on the contrary, consider it highly immoral not to be polyandrous. If we take as the definition of morality, conformity to the social standards of the setting in which one lives, then one can say that polyandrous people, at least in this area which I studied, are very moral. The old people complain that today the young ones are getting highly immoral and lax in not carrying out the tradition of polyandry. Certainly, on the borders of India, where the people come in contact with the monogamous families of India, or with Europeans, polyandry is dying out to some extent.

595 I remember speaking to an old Tibetan
178 called Tocktock in Leh, who told me that,
428 in town, Indian and Turki traders (the latter from Chinese Turkestan), and Euro-

TODA AW 60

KERALA AW 11

2236

To 114 reasons are concerned, the Mahabarata epic is the only case of its kind in the whole of India. The Todas, when you ask why they are polyandrous, always say "Because we are the same people as those of the Mahabarata", but I am convinced that they have got this explanation from the anthropologists and not the other way around! As far as the economic reasons are concerned, these also seem to me insufficient, because there are people living in the same area, in the same physical environment, who are not polyandrous. Even the Tibetans, when they become Moslems, though their environment does not change, suddenly cease being polyandrous and live in the Islamic fashion. The rich Tibetans in central Tibet are also polyandrous, and obviously not for economic reasons.

To 595 114 T, 595 114 K 114 595

T, 162 792 To 847 162 As regards the demographic reasons, the following statistics will show that there is not always an excess of males over females. In the Leh *tehsil* in Ladak, where I was, there are 14,760 men to 14,650 women, which is approximately equal. The excess of single women among the Tibetans (there are some left over, naturally, considering the number of brothers who have one wife) usually go into a monastery and become nuns. That is the way they solve their problem. The Todas, on the other hand, practise female infanticide, so that there are less women than men. However, back in Tibet, in the same town of Leh, one finds that the Hindus who live there number 36 men and 13 women, and yet they are monogamous. In southern India, there is a Moslem community known as the Moplahs, in which there are five men to one woman, and they are polygynous rather than polyandrous. Even in Europe, the Bulgars have 35,000 more men than women and yet, though they may have many faults, they certainly are not polyandrous.

To 162 As far as the Todas are concerned, out of the 600-odd that exist, there are 340 men and 237 women, so that it really looks as if the reason given might be true in

To 829 595 121 182 Ti 829 595 121 182 K [121] would give the following interpretation of the polyandrous systems found: It seems to me that polyandry is "not necessarily a primitive institutional form of marriage, but that it is due to the psychological reaction of individuals living in communities subject to environmentally poor and insecure economic conditions, persisting, in the case of the Tibetans, through isolation from other communities, or, in the case of the Todas, as a type of defense mechanism against invasion by other cultures." I have not included the Tiyas in this definition because I do not know them sufficiently and would like to go more thoroughly into their polyandry before giving an interpretation of it.

Ti 595 114 212 Now, if I take this definition, instance by instance, I shall be able to interpret exactly what I mean by it. When I first say that polyandry is "not necessarily a primitive institutional form of marriage," I mean that, for instance, the Tibetans are all literate and educated people, with whom you can speak quite freely, who have a very pronounced sense of reality and do not in any way seem like a primitive people. It thus looks as if polyandry were a system entirely outside of the usual evolutionary stages of marriage, in which anthropology puts the matriarchal before the patriarchal system.

To 595 114 [182] [593] Ti 595 114 [182] [593] Next, I say that polyandry is "due to the psychological reaction of individuals living in communities subject to environmentally poor and economically insecure conditions," by which I mean, living in a physical environment which leads to a miserable economy. This economy makes them very interdependent, within each family, upon the help of each other, and this interdependence, in turn, which is stressed very highly in these families because of the necessity of sticking together under the difficult physical conditions, calls for less aggression among the members of the family itself and among groups of them. It seems to me that this stress on the condemnation of aggression is such that even something approaching incest

To 595 114 Ti 595 114 appears as less dangerous than aggression among brothers. In fact, the balance between aggression and love for one another is upset in favor of love, and this is so effective that latent, repressed incestuous strivings are forced out by an excuse, I should say, of loving one another and are less condemned than aggression between brothers.

To 595 114 593 Ti 595 114 593 I am convinced that it is this feeling that finds its expression in the Tibetans and Todas saying, "We are polyandrous because we do not want to quarrel among ourselves." (The Tibetans say that they do not want the women to quarrel, by which indirectly they mean that, if the women are quarreling, the men will have to take sides and would quarrel. The Todas are more definite about it and say outright that they are polyandrous because they do not want the brothers to quarrel.) These people actually feel that a practice of aggression, of rivalry between brothers is more dangerous than the custom of sharing one woman, which has led to the establishment of a community in which it has become compulsory to live in this fashion.

To 595 114 Ti 595 114 It is very characteristic of polyandrous people that they insist on being polyandrous and say it is immoral to be anything else. In fact, this latent eruption of a repressed incestuous desire becomes an obligation, which is very much in line with the teachings of psychoanalysis; namely, that a repressed desire becomes the basis of a compulsion, in this case of an imposed institution, which it would be difficult to explain sociologically. Of course, these incestuous obligations, as you might call them, do not go as far as a father-son

23: Peter E-3 (1938-?) AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
TODA AW 60
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relation, but it seems to me that the *tchamadoong* system is so close to such a relation that again it could easily be explained in this way.

In the final instance, as I say, polyandry "persists through isolation, in the case of the Tibetans, and as part of a defense mechanism in the case of the Todas." The Tibetans are very isolated and do not come in contact with other peoples and, for that reason, the system is well preserved, though in the border region it is breaking down. I was much struck by the fact that people there do not like mentioning polyandry. They are shy about it and think it does not sound very nice to other people, while as one gets into the interior among real polyandrous people they are very proud of it and boast of it. In the case of Tocktock, which I mentioned before, the old man was surprised that other peoples were not polyandrous. As far as the Todas are concerned, they are cooped up in the mountains. They are hemmed in by other peoples who have other customs, but they still feel that they are the people of the Nilghiris, and that they are a superior race. In order to assert this, they stick very "nationalistically" to their customs, and I think polyandry persists among them as one of the symbols of their superiority.

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I hope that this explanation of polyandry may sound convincing in spite of its mainly psychoanalytical approach. I think that the results of this first expedition were satisfactory, and thoroughly justify the desire for a second expedition to find out more about it, for there are many gaps that still need to be filled in, in order to complete the picture.

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
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T WT 101

about often without any ambition whatsoever to cross over from it into the world beyond.

T WT 101 121 595

The area where I investigated the custom of polyandry as practised by the Tibetans is thus wide-spread, so wide-spread in fact, that it can easily be said to constitute the largest of any in which this custom is followed. The Tibetans, or those of Tibetan culture (the two are synonymous in our context) consequently constitute the biggest human group on earth in which this form of matrimony is to be found. It did seem worth while, for this reason, to give it more attention than any other, particularly when the advanced state of its culture is taken into consideration.

WT 101 114 595

In the following divisions of Part I, I propose, first, to give an account of the polyandry which is to be found among the inhabitants of the western Himalayas, in those districts of India which, together with the Tibetan province of Ngari Korsum (*mNga-ris Kor-gSum*), are collectively known as Western Tibet. They include the valley of Lahul in India proper, the plateau of Rupchu and the province of Ladak in Kashmir. In Rupchu, I came across nomadic people from Ngari Korsum in Tibet, Chang-pa (*Byang-pa*), called thus after the Chang T'hang (*Byang-T'hang*) or "northern plain" in Tibet, who gave me a good account of the type of polyandry practised among themselves and among the officials beyond the border.

T 101 114 595

In the next divisions of Part II, I will give an account of the polyandry of the Tibetans of Tibet proper, such as I was able to study it in Kalimpong. This will cover mainly the two central Tibetan provinces of U (*dbUs*) and Tsang (*gTsang*) known collectively as U-Tsang (*dbUs-gTsang*) in which are to be found the capital, Lhasa (*lHa-sa*), and the two other largest cities in the country, Shigatse (*gShis-Ka-rtse*) and Gyantse (*rGyal-rTse*). I will, however, also give an account of the polyandry of the inhabitants of other parts of Tibet, as it is to be found in outlying provinces such as Kham, among the nomads of the Chang T'hang and in such regions as, for example, the Chumbi valley (Tromo (*Gro-mo*) in Tibetan).

T 114 595

In the last division of the same Part II, I shall deal with a very special case of polyandry which I believe was hardly known prior to the research work which I have done upon it, namely, that in which a wife is held in common by fathers and sons. Relatively frequent in the central provinces of Tibet, and more especially so in Tsang, this exceptional type of polyandrous marriage is looked upon with curiosity even by the Tibetans themselves in other parts of the country. It was my good for-

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Tibet AJ1

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tune to come across not one, but several cases of this father-and-son polyandry, and I shall give as concise an account as possible of them since my findings have already been questioned in certain publications, although, I am glad to say, without the support of any factual evidence.

PART I

THE POLYANDRY OF THE TIBETANS OF WESTERN TIBET (LAHUL, RUPCHU AND LADAK)

WT 101 131 648

The three areas of Lahul, Rupchu and Ladak are now included within Indian territory, the first in the State of Himachal Pradesh, the two others in Kashmir. They are, however, predominantly regions of Tibetan culture. Historical links with Tibet proper are ancient and solid, and, today, contact is kept up through the Lamaist Church, through merchants and through marriages between members of the leading families.

WT 114

My itinerary lay first through Lahul an my way up from the plains of India and for this reason, I shall begin with this district of what was then the undivided Punjab. I shall go on next to Rupchu and then to Ladak, as my journey was continued through these two parts of Kashmir territory.

A. POLYANDRY IN LAHUL

WT 101

The name of Lahul is presumably derived from the Tibetan Lho-Yül (*lHo-Yul*), meaning "southern country", an appellation applied by the early Ladakis to the valley when it was at one time under their rule. The local name for Lahul is *Garzha*, the meaning of which is unknown.

1. ENVIRONMENT

WT 133 [131]

Lahul covers an area of 2,250 square miles and is situated in that part of the Himalayas where the Chenab of the Punjab has its source (see Map 4). The waters of this river originally spring in two different directions, one south-east, the Chandra, and the other south-west, the Bhaga, both very close to each other on either side of the Baralacha (*Para-la-rTse*) pass, 16,047 feet high, in the main Himalayan range. The two rivers, when reaching the mid-Himalayan range, turn north-west, and coming together just south of the capital, Kyelang, run out of Lahul into

[Text Continues on P 305]

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Map IV. Sketch map of Lahul.

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

614 4. Kyin-go-pa (*K'hyi-mGo-pa*), "Dog-headed one".
5. Ödsal-lha-pa (*aOd-gSal-lHa-pa*), "Luminous, clear god one".
6. Dzes-pa-pa (*mDzes-pa-pa*), "Lovely one".
7. Nyishara-pa (*Nyishar-ra-pa*), "Sunrise one".
8. Yige-pa (*Yige-pa*), "Letter one".
9. Gyan-shing-pa (*rGyan-shing-pa*), "Betting wood one".
10. Trang-tug-pa (*Grang-t'hug-pa*), "Cold soup one".
11. Tarrawa-pa (*Tar-ra-ba-pa*), "Buttermilk one".
12. Sumpo-pa (*gSum-p'ho-pa*), "Thrice male one".
13. Langtso-rü-pa (*Lang-ts'ho-rus-pa*), "Adolescent clan one".
14. Kyungo-pa (*K'hyung-mGo-pa*), "*Garuda* headed one" (the Garuda is the Hindu mythical bird).
15. Jamshar-pa (*aJam-shar-pa*), "Mild shining one".
16. Leh-pa (*sLa-pa*), "Man from Leh" (in Ladak).

Of these, numbers 1, 3, 5, 7, 9, 14 and 16 of course, are also to be found in Ladak, and the Lahuli clans of the same name are related to those in the neighbouring area of Kashmir.

[582] Clan exogamy was the rule, the Wazir told me, and there were very few even today who dared to transgress this injunction. There had been [626] a marriage within the Lönchen-pa clan, it seemed, but its members had found it very difficult to live down; they had been held up as objects of ridicule in the whole of Lahul ever since.

7. OTHER RELEVANT POINTS INVESTIGATED

114 Being keen to investigate the psychology of polyandrous people, I also sought, while in Lahul, to gather data which appeared to me could have a bearing on the psychological structure of the individuals involved. Consequently I enquired from the Thakur about initiation ceremonies [115] and paid a number of visits to medical men to question them on nervous ailments in their practices.

114 852 Thakur Partap Chand told me that when a son was born to a family, a special ceremony took place which my notes call phonetically *Gotsu* (probably *mGo-aDzug*, "beginning") in Tibetan. It should be remembered that at the time, I as yet knew no Tibetan and was forced to take down names and words as they appeared to sound to me – a process highly unreliable in that language as differences of meaning often depend on spelling and not on pronunciation. When the boy is not yet 852 twelve months old, on the day of the Tibetan New Year (usually in February), he is strapped onto his mother's back and taken up to the

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Tibetan Nomads

595 563 as it did among all Tibetans, that is also among the sedentary population. Since many authors have denied the existence of polyandry among nomads in Tibet, while others have stated that it does exist, the pronouncement was of interest to me.

I asked whether the few animals which the nomads did own themselves were held in common in one family unit, as the land was in Lahul. Although I had expected an affirmative answer to this question, the one that I received was in the negative. Why then did nomads live in polyandry? I enquired what the incentive might be, since there did not appear to be an economic one. The reply given was that it was a Tibetan custom which everyone in Tibet had always practised. Against this, I argued that by dividing up the family into as many units as there were sons to marry, each with his wife and children, since property was already individual, it would be possible to increase the livestock and raise the standard of living among nomads. This, however, did not seem to impress my informants, the abbot and the *goba*, at all; they simply repeated that nomads were Tibetans like others and therefore followed the customs of their country.

I have thus come to the conclusion that the nomads of Tibet practise polyandry exactly as the sedentary population does, out of social conformity. Being Tibetans, they often combine other forms of marriage with polyandry as well and, while I was in Rupchu, I heard about a prominent case of polygyny which, it seemed, had attracted a certain amount of attention, even in this society.

A man named Sönam Murup (*bSod-Nams dNgos-Grub*), unfortunately absent at the time of my visit, was the *mag-pa* husband of a young woman whose two other sisters were married out in *bag-ma*. These, however, had divorced and returned home to their sister, and from that moment had become the junior wives of Sönam Murup. No marriage ceremony had been performed so that they were free to leave again and to remarry, but in the meantime, the children that they had had with the *mag-pa* were considered as those of the family of his first wife.

[114] It was at Korzok *gompa* that I was given details about the polyandry practised by the Lhasa officials in Ngari Korsum province, and particularly about the way in which the Gar-pön and his son lived together with a common wife. I shall not go into this here, however, but will hold it in reserve for the division dealing particularly with this subject, as part of the description of the polyandry that is practised in Tibet proper.

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Map V. Sketch map of Ladak.

[facing p 335-A]

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114 595 6. *Personal field-work research*

After having gathered a certain amount of theoretical information of the kind which I have given above, I felt the necessity to go out and see things for myself. I asked Nono Tse-p'hün to take me to some of the polyandrous households which he knew in the neighbourhood of Leh, and he accepted readily enough.

(i) *Visits to polyandrous households*

595 601 Consequently, on the 30th of August 1938, we visited a family living in polyandry in the immediate outskirts of the town. The name of the house was *Tok-Tok* (possibly *Grogs-Grogs* or *T'hog-T'hog*) and consisted of two brothers living polyandrously, and of two of their sons by a first wife also living in this way. I give the genealogy which I made then, in Table 27, by way of illustration.

789 As we approached the Tok-Tok house I noticed a *Dö* (*mDos*) string cross over the door to catch devils. I remarked upon it and heard that 342 in Ladak it is called a *namgo* (*rNam-mGo?*). The building was a typical [353] Tibetan one, with a flat roof covered with fuel for the winter arranged in packets round the edge, thick stone walls painted white, rectangular doors and windows, the lower part of the frame broader than the upper part, with coloured decorations and a piece of cloth hanging over the top part, a *lha-k'hang* (*lHa-K'hang*) or private chapel on the first floor with *chötens* visible through the window. We entered by the front gate which led into a yard and thence into a stable, from which a staircase took us up to the first floor. It was there that we met the family, and 115 had our talk with our principal informant, the eldest father and former master of the household, Lobsang Tok-Tok.

595 428 He told us that he and his brother, Ishe Döndrup, together with their eldest sister, Skalzang Rolma, were the three children of a certain Ishe Tok-Tok now dead. The sister had been married off in *bag-ma* to the now deceased son of the Par-k'hang house (meaning "Printing House"), Samten, with whom she had had no children. She had inherited the [597] property at his death, and would be holding it as long as she lived, or until the little girl she had adopted married and set herself up in the *k'hang-chen* as the heiress. This little girl belonged to the *p'ha-spun* of Skalzang Rolma's former husband and, for this reason, was entitled to inherit the Par-k'hang house.

591 595 888 Lobsang himself, a man in his sixties now, had been married polyandrously with his brother to a certain Tsering Panzom with whom they had had two children, a son called Stobgyal and a girl, Ishe Palkid.

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595 115 591 888 Sonam, the eldest son of the heiress living in the little house on the family property with her *mag-pa*, was our informant. He told us that his mother and father had moved from the big house, in which he lived, some ten years ago. With them, went the youngest sister, then still unmarried, Chorol. The two eldest sisters, Putit and Yangdzen, were already married out in *bag-ma* at the time. The eldest, Putit, was married in polyandry in the Goba household, and I asked Nono Tse-P'hün to take us on to that family next, which he did.

888 591 As soon as Sonam and his two brothers, Rabgye and P'huntzok Stobldan, had married Tsewang Putit, they had taken the *k'hang-chen* over. Very soon afterwards, Sonam Dorje, their eldest child and only son, now aged eight, was born, and subsequently they had had three daughters, now aged six, five and two respectively.

Chorol had only recently been married off in *bag-ma* to Tashi Murup of the Raku household; that was the reason for which she did not yet have any children.

P'hüntzok Stobldan, so Nono Tse-P'hün told me later, although the youngest husband of the common wife, whom he shared with his brothers, was not happy in polyandry. He wanted very much to leave and become the *mag-pa* husband of an heiress: the daughter of one Gyurmed (*aGyur-med*), the head of a household which I have marked down in my notes as being called *Tiapa*. This must be a mistake, however, as the sound *Tia* does not exist in Tibetan (it may perhaps be *Tra-pa*).

114 094

Tsewang Putit was standing outside the house, near the entrance gate to the compound, during the conversation which we had with her eldest husband just inside the main room. We went out again to take a group photograph of the family (see Fig. 38), and when I had done this, I turned and spoke to her through the interpreter. She was holding her youngest child, the little girl, Sonam Putit, in her arms, and I asked if she could tell me who its father was.

595 85 126

She looked surprised and looked away. I insisted, but she shook her head, and Nono Tse P'hün said that she could not tell. I then suggested that she could surely calculate backwards as to who the father was, and find out who was with her at the probable time of conception. This was put to her, but she still refused to say. Finally, after the interpreter had teased her somewhat, and the husbands had laughed her into talking, she said that she was an honest woman, and did not have any preference. This seemed to satisfy Sonam and the others very much, for they shook their heads approvingly and looked at Nono Tse P'hün as he translated to me. It was obvious that Tsewang Putit had said the

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595 portions, although rather poorer than those of Leh, the inhabitants of Chushod not being so well off as those of the Ladaki capital. I was struck by the untidy, dirty and miserable appearance of those whom we interviewed. None of them acted specially as informant, Nono Tse-P'hün putting his questions to all three of the occupants of the *k'hang-chen*.

595 842 Ishe Palkid's story was that she had been married at 21 and that she had had a child almost immediately but which was, unfortunately, still-born. She had then waited for five years, and as she did not have another baby, and also because Rigzin was alone to cultivate the fields, she agreed to her husband's proposal that Paldan of the Tagchod household should be called in. He was the youngest son of that family, and agreed to join the couple in his double role of extra cultivator and sire to the descendence of the Shing-k'hang household. Seven years had now passed since he had come, but Ishe Palkid did not conceive again. In [599] desperation, they were thinking now of adopting a child, and their choice had already fallen upon one of the sons of Skalzan of the Shingo-pa household.

Upon enquiry, I found that the *porjag* was looked upon exactly as if he were a brother of Rigzin and that this polyandry, which was not fraternal, was, in fact, effectively treated as if it were so. Everything belonging to Rigzin in the house was now shared with the *porjag*, Paldan, who was a *de facto* joint proprietor of the Shing-k'hang-pa property. Paldan was some seven years younger than the wife, having been married to her when he was only nineteen. Rigzin, from a Ladaki point of view even, was not old and quite able to work. He was approximately thirty five, and in good health. But he did not seem able to cultivate the land as he should, and needed another man to help him, he said.

594 114 On the 18th September 1938, that is the next day, we went and saw another household, near Leh, in which there was also a *porjag*. It was in a family called *Bata* (*Ba-ta?*) and as things turned out, the genealogy which I made there proved to be the most representative of all those I made in Ladak; it is the one with the greatest variety of cases, showing all the different aspects of the way the social system functions among those polyandrous people.

I have already published this genealogy, the genealogy of the *Tsong-k'har-pa* (*Btsong-mK'har-pa*) household, in *Transactions of the New York Academy of Sciences*, Ser. II, vol. 10, April 1948, No. 6, under the title "Tibetan, Toda and Tiya Polyandry: a Report of Field Investigation". It appears on page 215 of the above publication, but in the

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595 form which I gave it then. I have since learned Tibetan, and I had the
114 good fortune to be able to review it with my Ladaki informant, Nono Tse-P'hün, in Kalimpong, on the 3rd December 1953, so that I have made many corrections in the spelling, and have given what now appears to be the correct orthography of the names.

595 The Bata household was situated quite close to Leh, in the immediate
601 vicinity, like the first families which we visited: It consisted of four people, one elderly man called Döndrup, his son Murup, the latter's
[115] wife Palkid, and her *porjag* whose name was Paljor; he was the youngest of the Shing-k'hang-pa household which we had examined earlier, and the genealogy of which is given in Table 33. All these people acted as informants, Nono Tse-P'hün gathering information for me not from only one of them but rather from them all together as they stood out-
[591] side their house and talked with us. They all lived in the Bata *k'hang-chen*, there being no reason, as we shall see, for Döndrup, the elder, to go to a *k'hang-gu*. The house was of the usual type, standing close
[126] to the cultivations. We remained outside, and spoke to these people in the field, as can be seen from the photograph (Fig. 41), which I took at the conclusion of the interview.

In Table 34, in which the genealogy of the *Tsong-k'har-pa* (*bTsong-mK'har-pa*) household is given, it will be seen that the Bata household grew out of it in the following way. Döndrup's father, Tsong-gu Malik, now dead, was married to a woman called Sonam of the Bata household, one which was well-known in Leh. They had three children, all boys, of whom Döndrup was the youngest. With the elder brothers, P'hüntzok and Pe-leg, he married polyandrously a woman named Putit of P'ho-sang household. And with this common wife, the brothers had no less than twelve children, of whom six died and six survived.

Döndrup's mother, Sonam, died after all her brothers, and no heirs
[428] remained for the Bata household from which she had come; none were even adopted it seemed. For this reason, after P'hüntzok and Pe-leg had taken over the *k'hang-chen* of the Tsong-k'har-pa house, Döndrup was made heir to the Bata household, that is the one of his mother. He went and lived there immediately, and the sons he had with his brothers' common wife, helped him to cultivate the land there.

[1496] The eldest of these boys, Ishe Paljor, together with his brother, Ishe
[553] (now dead), then married a certain Moslem woman, who took the name Senghe Tsomo when she became Buddhist (as she should to marry
[591] Buddhists). These children then took over the *k'hang-chen*, and P'hüntzok and Pe-leg moved into the *k'hang-gu* at Tsong-k'har-pa. A third

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595 601 whom she lived in Leh. Three other daughters, Kundzom, Tsomo and Rolma Putit, were all married out in *bag-ma*, the two first of these, at least, to other families. They were the mistresses, respectively, of the [791?] Ragasha and the Azhang-ni-pa households, but their younger sister had married a certain Sang-gyä P'hüntzok who, curiously enough, was a convert to Buddhism from his original Moslem faith, – surely a very rare occurrence. He was employed as a manager of the Himis gompa, where he was in charge of trade and accounts, and made a comfortable [792] living. But he had no household, and no *zhing-kham* to hand down, so that they lived in quarters in the monastery grounds. His conversion was responsible for this; the situation could nevertheless be remedied if he purchased some land and settled on it. The couple had three children, and the succession was thus assured beforehand.

595 ● 114 (ii) *Information gathered concerning the functioning of polyandry in Ladak*

From all these families that I visited with Nono Tseten P'hüntzok between the 30th August and the 18th September 1938, I gathered much information as to the rules of polyandry, and how these marriages functioned.

184 595 I heard thus of the manner in which polyandry is regulated in Ladak. In many ways, it appeared to be very similar to what I had already learned in Lahul, except that, perhaps because of the climate being colder, there seemed to be less sexual privacy. Another reason for this, probably, was that the Ladaki is more sedentary than the Lahuli and does not leave his home as regularly on commercial trips, so that one alone out of a woman's many husbands remains with her; in Ladak, all the brothers are almost constantly resident in the family house, and it is consequently more difficult to establish a sort of roster between them in their relations with the common wife.

595 342 [354] Every house in Leh has a large common room, well heated because the kitchen fireplace is either in it or close by, in another smaller room which communicates with it. This room is the one in which the entire family of the *k'hang-chen* lives during the long winter months, the one in which everything goes on all day and all night, eating, sleeping, procreation and the like. Its name is the *Jan-sa* (*Byan-sa*), which means "kitchen place", and I was told that the main reason for which everybody lives here in winter, herded together, is because it is warm and there is not enough fuel to heat the other rooms in the house.

595 833 Of course, it is not a rule that public mating in the *Jan-sa* takes place.

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cultivated into future herdsmen at this time, while others learned a trade.

807 992 Those children who were put in monasteries, either boys or girls, were usually sent there at the respective ages of eight and fourteen. The boys became lamas and were put through a very severe period of probation. They were attached to a master whom they had to serve completely, as if they were his body-servant. Frequent corporal punishment [806] was meted out to them and this was quite usual – in fact it was a perfectly correct thing to do, and many jokes had to do with the way in which a master gave his pupil a correction with a whip, on the slightest pretext, when he felt that he had not been attentive to his merest whim. In nunneries, very much the same happened, except that relations between elders and probationers were not so acute. A girl was usually trained by a *jetsün-ma* (*rJe-bTsun-ma*), or senior nun, before becoming a *cho-mo (Jo-mo)* or ordinary nun, and the relation between the two women was of a much less brutal nature.

595 428 (iii) *Reasons given for the existence of polyandry in Ladak*

The consensus of opinion among the informants in the various polyandrous households that I visited about why they followed this particular type of matrimonial custom, was that it was the only way to avoid dividing up the property and thus being impoverished in a bleak and arid land. I was also told, as a secondary reason, that it enabled a household to obtain the sufficient labour that it needed to cultivate the fields; where many brothers inherited the property jointly, and took one wife in common, they could easily cope with the work to be done, as there were enough hands to do it.

595 Only once did I hear that there might be yet another reason beyond these for which polyandry was followed by the Buddhist Ladakis of Tibetan affinity. It was on the 30th September 1938, near Ridzong, when we met a bandit from Tibet proper, called Norgyäs. He told me that polyandry was practised by Tibetans so as to avoid the wives of the brothers quarrelling. Peace in the house, according to him, could only be obtained if there was only one wife in the family.

595 114 The Reverend Walter Asboe was of the opinion that it was a blessing that polyandry existed among the Buddhists. In so poor and difficult an environment, he said, another matrimonial system would probably only lead either to strife over the obtention of food, or to widespread famine. In this, he was only echoing what previous Moravian missionaries as well as many authors have said when speaking or writing about the customs of the people in Ladak.

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A. Wilson, in *The Abode of Snow* (see Bibliography), says: "I was a little surprised to find that one of the Moravian missionaries defended the polyandry of the Tibetans, not as a thing to be approved of in the abstract and tolerated among Christians, but as good for the heathen of so sterile a country. In taking this view, he proceeded on the argument that superabundant population, in an unfertile country, must be a great calamity, and produce 'eternal warfare or eternal want'." (p. 647). 595 114

Captain H. L. Ramsay, in his *Western Tibet* (see Bibliography), goes even further and states that "it would be a misfortune if, with the introduction of Christianity, monogamy was introduced (in Ladak)". To this, the Reverend A. H. Francke, also of the Moravian Mission, writing in 1907, has to say that before Christianity came to Ladak, Mohammedanism was already there, and it is to the Moslems that we must look, before anything else, for change in matrimonial customs. In his opinion, polyandry is a disgusting practice which cannot be defended, and which should be replaced by a more ethical form of matrimony. The *Code of Tribal Custom of the Ladakh Tehsil* (see Bibliography) agrees with him in this, and, while stating that polyandry has obvious economic reasons for its existence, also maintains that it darkens the picture from a moral point of view and should not be allowed to continue.

In an article published in the Sunday Amrita Bazaar Patrika, a Calcutta newspaper, on March 16th 1952, and entitled "Poverty, Mass Ignorance and Social Evils in Ladakh", the special correspondent of the paper in Kashmir expresses the very current Indian opinion that "Two social evils, ugly and venomous, are eating into the vitals of Ladakh Buddhists. One is the custom of polyandry . . . the other the very common use of *chang* (beer)." He goes on to say, in the most significant passage of the article: "The supposed aim of polyandry, to keep the population within narrow limits, can only be reached if a number of women are ready to remain single. But this is not easy to achieve in any society and the result is immorality. From conditions obtaining in the country, I am forced to believe that polyandry has undermined the powers of increase of the people." For him, the only way to do away with the evil is to improve conditions in the land so that "the development of resources of the district bring enough wealth and strong public opinion" against polyandry.

(iv) *Other relevant information*

Enquiries about the kinship system in Ladak which I made, led me to observe that it was in every way a Western Tibetan one, identical terms 601 184

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which I collected later, in Kalimpong, about Central Tibet – the *rü* does not carry with it such obligations between its members. It seems to be confined to the single function of prohibiting marriage within its fold. It is only an exogamous unit and not an association for mutual assistance.

In *East and West* (see Bibliography) I published a complete list of thirty five *p'haspuns* of Ladak, involving eighty six families, whose names, meaning of appellation, name of *lha*, and remarks on each of them, I have given simultaneously. Readers are referred to this article for the information, which I endeavoured to make as exhaustive as possible.

Regarding the question of the exogamy of the *p'haspuns* of Ladak, I was told by Nono Tse-P'hün as well as by his father-in-law, Joseph Gergan, that no one paid the slightest attention any longer to rules forbidding marriage within the *p'haspun*. As long as people were "not related", as they put it, (meaning, no doubt, not immediately related by ties of close family kinship), marriage was possible between members of families constituting a same *p'haspun*. The latter were really only inter-assistance organizations, they said, and had nothing to do with marriage rules any longer.

Ordinary folk from Ladak, however, from Leh and from its surroundings, whom I met on my visits to polyandrous households, and later, in Kalimpong, when they were on their way to or from Lhasa on pilgrimage, assured me that one should marry only outside the *p'haspun* to which one belonged. They all said that, as far as they were concerned, they would not think of doing otherwise.

The explanation of such divergent views must surely be, then, that probably these vary with the class to which a man belongs, and to which my informants belonged. The wealthier and more educated people, such as Joseph Gergan and his son-in-law, no longer consider it necessary to heed the ancient exogamous rules of the *p'haspun*. They have outgrown them, have become modern, and such rules appear meaningless to them. But the peasant population of Ladak, by nature very conservative and certainly much less discerning, still adhere strictly to the rules, although they do so quite instinctively as the "right" thing to do, and would be completely at a loss if they had to give the reason for their action.

I asked Joseph Gergan on one occasion (actually by letter to which I received a reply on the 27th December 1938) if a *porjag* could be of the same *p'haspun* as the common wife, or if he should be of the

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846 headgear resembling that in which the Tibetan saint Padmasambhava
857 (Guru Rimpoche) is always attired, and she puts it on the child's head.
[604] It will wear this until it grows out of it. The feast lasts two days, and
[292] the guests are served with *amai mar-zan* (*Ama-ai Mar-zan*) or "mother's *mar-zan*", which all can now safely eat in the household.

In wealthier families, two more festive occasions are observed: *Bdün-da-kang* (*bDun Zla-Gang*) after seven weeks (*Bdün* stands for "seven") in which many more people, sometimes the whole village, are entertained; and *pang-ri* (*Pang-Dri*) or "lap fragrance" in which a vast concourse of friends, relatives and guests are entertained for three days, if
[603] the new-born is a boy. On this last occasion, it is customary for the maternal grandmother to have *tsampa* served to everybody present.

[184] There is no equivalent of the *ral-dag* or hair-cutting ceremony of Lahul, in Ladak. But at the birth of a son, it is not unusual for super-
[302] stitious people to cut off a small lock and to stuff it into a willow tree. This is called the performance of *ral-chang* (*Ral-lChang*) or "long-hair willow".

553 A child receives its names at no special time. There are three of
[551] them, and one of them is always kept secret and never revealed during the whole lifetime of the person. The parents can name their child, or they can take it to a lama who will give it names in writing on a piece of Tibetan paper, stamped with the seal of the monastery. The astrologer is sometimes asked to give auspicious names to a child after he has made its horoscope, and in the more important Ladaki families it is customary for the king of Ladak to be asked to name their offspring.

191 I have gone at length into these various ceremonies connected with the birth and initiation of children, as well as with notions of cleanliness and pollution in ritual matters which have to do with child-bearing and death, because it appears to me to be so very revealing of the psychology of the polyandrous Ladakis. Such ritualistic practices are to be found in other, non-polyandrous societies elsewhere in the world, and they compare very favourably with Indian ways in these matters. But it is of interest, it seems to me, to note that they exist also among the polyanders of an area of Tibetan cultural affinity, with the special characteristics which I have described above.

(v) *Medical information*

● 114 As I had already done in Lahul, I also visited medical men in Ladak,
158 and the hospitals in Leh, in order to gather information concerning the nervous ailments of the population. It was, I thought, important to do

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so, especially when, in Kyelang, I had discovered significant psychological disorders in members of polyandrous households. In Ladak, the information that I gathered was not quite as sensational, but it confirmed to a large extent what I already knew now about the psychopathology of the people of these regions.

My first such visit was to the Kashmir State hospital in Leh on the 30th August, 1938. There I met the chief physician in charge, a Dogra medical officer called Dr. M. S. Diwani. He told me that venereal diseases were, as usual, the dominant illnesses which he had to treat. He attributed their wide distribution in Ladak to contacts with Moslem traders from Sinkiang, who passed them on through the intermediary of the temporary wives which they took from the local, Buddhist population. Extra to digestive troubles due to a diet of excessive tea and *chang* drinking, there were many cases of epilepsy and hysteria. The former sickness seemed mostly to plague Moslem women, while the latter was the perogative of single Buddhist women and nuns in the nunnerise. They got attacks usually during their menstrual periods, and nearly always at night. The cure for these afflictions was in the hands of the *amchis*, who cauterized the head of the patient in prescribed places.

There was much osteomelitis about, Dr. Diwani said, and it was due to the *purdah* habits of Moslem women, because they did not get sufficient sun. The Buddhist women who worked on the fields never suffered from this illness. He knew of no cases of impotence or frigidity, as no one had been to see him for such ailments. There was madness in the area, the most significant case being that of the *Tulku* (*sPrul-sKu*) or Incarnation of Tikse Gompa (see *The Mad Tulku of Tikse* by the same author, Stepping Stones, Kalimpong, 1950). To my question as to whether he knew of homosexuality in Ladak, Dr. Diwani said that it was widespread in the monasteries, where the relations between master and novice were universally known to take on that character.

On the 1st September 1938, when I visited the Gad-po-pa (*rGad-po-pa*) household, and made its genealogy (see p. 368), I took advantage of my talk with the informant Chond who, it will be recalled, was an *amchi* or native doctor, to enquire from him about his practice. He told me that he had many cases of giddiness to deal with, and he attributed this to bad diet in the case of the men, and to irregularities in the menses of women. There were no cases of impotence or frigidity, as far as he knew, but many of anxiety and hysteria, which he had to treat, nearly always, in women. They were mainly to be found among single women and nuns, and often took the form of nervous blindness

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Fig. 34. Lahuli women working in a field.

Fig. 35. The *chang* girl at the wedding in the Tolag-pa house, Lahul.

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Fig. 36. The author with Lobsang on his left seated among Rupchu nomads.

[p. 480-A]

12:Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW11 Kerala
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APPENDIX 1

NARRATIVE OF JOURNEYS MADE

In 1937, having completed my preliminary studies of Anthropology at the London School of Economics, I decided on India as the most suitable place to investigate polyandry. Together with my wife, I set off in the spring, to travel to that country overland by car.

We travelled by way of France, Italy, north Africa (Cyrenaica), Egypt, Lebanon, Syria, Irak, Iran (Persia), and entered Baluchistan at Mirjawa in April, 1938. We went on by Quetta, Dera Ghazi Khan and Multan, to Lahore, where we remained for some time, in order to gather information about the possibilities of studying polyandrous peoples in or around the Punjab.

Eventually, I decided to proceed to the Kulu valley in the north, where the Kanets were still said to practise polyandry. As I have related, this proved to be a fallacy, but, while in Kulu during May and the beginning of June 1938, I obtained information about the custom further north, in the Himalayas. I also made a short excursion to Malana, where some polyandry was reputedly in existence, but failed to find any evidence of it.

After the snows had thawed and it became possible to cross the Himalayas, we went over the Rothang Pass (13,050 ft.) into the valley of Lahul. Here, in the capital, Kyelang, we remained for a month, gathering extremely useful information and studying actual polyandrous families for the first time. My interpreters and informants repeatedly mentioned to me during this period that theirs was only a pale reflection of Tibetan polyandry practised still further north. So insistent were they and so interesting did the prospect appear of discovering other people even more addicted to this special form of marriage, that in the end I decided to go on and to return to the Indian plains by way of Kashmir and the trade routes from Kulu to that State.

I hired some ponies from a Tibetan Gya-kar Kham-pa (*rGya-gar K'hams-pa*) horse dealer and caravaneer, called Tsewang Norbu (*Ts'he-*

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914 *dbang Nor-pu*), who had already brought us to Kyelang from Kulu. Towards the middle of July, with some added personnel recruited from him and placed under the authority of his daughter, Dölma (*sGrol-ma*), we left for Rupchu and Ladak. (For an account of this journey, see *Chevauchée tibétaine*, by the same author, Fernand Nathan editeur, Paris, 1958.)

[192] [196] [535] My first stage was the Shar Shu monastery, near Kolong, where the Wazir of Lahul and his family resided. Here we attended the annual masked dance of the lamas, and spent the night at Thakur Partap Chand's fort-like castle. It was here, too, that I met the *goba* of the nomads of Rupchu; he was introduced to me by Mangal Chand, alias *amchi* Tashi Dawa, and I received an invitation to go to Korzok.

The next day, we continued to Patseo or Dozam (*rDo-Zam*) as it is called in Tibetan, and camped with Tsewang Norbu, chief of the Gyakar Kham-pa, and his people for a few days until we received the pack ponies and men which I had ordered from him.

This gave us the opportunity to attend the local fair and annual market here and to see for ourselves in what manner goods from the nomads further north were bought or exchanged for other products by the sedentary Lahulis. We also attended a local show given by travelling entertainers from Spiti, in which they performed the ancient ceremony of breaking a large stone on the chest of a man.

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The climb up over the Baralatcha pass (16,147 ft.) was strenuous, but we were soon over it, and travelling on the flat Lingti plain, along the banks of the Yunan river. We reached the Ser chu and then the Tsarab chu, which we forded to reach Spiti. A short distance further on, we crossed the south-eastern boundary of Kashmir, and continued our progress now through that State.

A few days later, we turned in a south-easterly direction so as to reach the shores of the lake called Tso (*mTs'ho*) Morari (this is the name on the map, but I heard locally that it should be more correctly *Moriri*), where the *goba* resided.

We arrived at our destination towards the beginning of August, not without difficulty because we had had to cross some very high passes, one of them the Lagnyal-la (20,600 ft.). Our caravan, both men and horses, suffered from the unusual altitude and, for some days, were quite unable to go on. But finally, we descended to relatively more reasonable heights and were received, some distance away from where we were going to stay, by the *goba* and his nephew. They were both relatives of the Karpa house in Lahul.

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We were taken to a camp two miles further on where we found some black, yak-hair, Tibetan tents, standing, as they do, like spiders because of their strange construction. There were flocks of sheep about, as well as a few yaks (*gYag*), animals from which our present hosts, the nomads, made their living. A tent, larger than the others, proved to be that of the *goba*, and we were taken close to it and invited to put up our own tents nearby. 114

Very soon after our arrival, we attended a masked dance at the monastery, and the abbot himself acted the Black Hat dancer which is the principal role. There were many spectators present, all the nomads of Rupchu taking a particular and obvious pleasure in what they saw. Another day, we witnessed a ceremony called *zor* (*Zor*) in which a *torma*, made of the head, backbone and entrails of a goat, standing on the animal's skin, was destroyed by lamas armed with great knives, as a way of exorcising devils and evil spirits. [792] [796] [535] [796] [789]

Then came a reception in the *goba's* tent, a festive function at which there were many guests. We were entertained with *chang*, dried meat, *tsampa*, turnips and buttered tea, and the party was a very gay one in which most of the guests, the *goba* and the abbot included, got roaring drunk. [574]

At another reception to which we were invited at the monastery before leaving and in which all our caravaneers received coloured bits of rag as talismans from the hands of the *tulku*, I was able to inform myself about the marital customs of the nomads.

The day after the reception at the *gompa*, we left for Leh, capital of Ladak (7th August, 1938). It was a cold journey as there was frost already on the high passes, and we had three to cross before we reached lower ground near Tso Kar (*mTs'ho dKar*), "the White Lake". From here, we continued down the Gya valley, where we encountered the first houses and fields again and received our first letter in many weeks, addressed to us by the Superintendent of the Moravian Mission in Ley, the Reverend Walter Asboe. A few stages further on, we crossed the Indus near Upshi, and followed its right bank past Himis and Tikse *gompas* to Sheh, one stage before our destination.

On the 22nd August, 1938, we came to Leh in the early afternoon and were received at the entrance of the town by the Moravian Missionary, the local authorities and a crowd of Ladakis, men, women and children. We were taken past the mile long *mani* walls to the Residency in the south-westerly quarter, where we had been authorized to stay during the period of our visit to Ladak. Very soon, we met those who

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114 were to act as interpreters and informants and a useful period of study opened up, destined to last until the 24th of September, 1938.

At that date, we left Leh on our way to the vale of Kashmir, and our first halt was at Spituk Gompa, in the Indus valley, only a few miles from the Ladaki capital. I did not meet Skushog Bakula, the chief lama of Ladak, at his seat in Spituk, because he was away in Central Tibet for his education. But I had a meeting with the acting head of the monastery, from whom I gathered interesting information concerning polyandry in U-Tsang (where he had been for his studies).

Six days later, near Ri-dzong, we met the bandit, Norgyäs (*Nor-Gyas*), from Tibet proper, who had taken refuge in Kashmir to escape from the Tibetan Government. He told us hair-raising tales of his experiences (which, however interesting, it would be irrelevant to narrate here) and begged for my intercession with the Maharaja of Kashmir, so that he, Norgyäs, should not be handed back to Tibet, but allowed asylum in India.

I took advantage of the appearance of this man to question him about polyandry in his country. He was most willing to speak and was informative, believing, no doubt, that if he rendered me this service, I might be better disposed in return to grant him the favour that he had requested of me.

Proceeding along the Treaty Road to Srinagar from Leh, I had occasion to find further polyandrous households, so long as we were in the areas of Buddhist, Tibetan culture, that is as far as Mulbek. On arrival in Kalatse, where we crossed the Indus on a wooden suspension bridge, we camped, and the following day stayed on in order to make some investigations. It was here that I heard, incidentally, about Herodotus' gold-digging ants and had the ancient tale confirmed by the local people (see Bibliography, *A History of Western Tibet* by the Rev. A. H. Francke).

After Mulbek, we passed out of the regions of Tibetan cultural affinity and entered the purely Kashmiri Moslem area. Beyond Kargil, which we left on the 15th of October, 1938, we met some Dards of Dah on the road, travelling with a caravan to their homes, and I noted now Tibetanized these tall, blond men with blue eyes were in their dress and manner. They, too, it appeared, were polyandrous.

Unfortunately, we no longer had time to pay them a visit. After a talk with them, we pressed on to get over the ill-famed Zoji-la, leading to the lower valleys beyond, before the winter snows set in. A few days later we reached our destination, Srinagar, the captial of Kashmir.

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We were accompanied on the whole journey from Kulu by Dölma, the Gya-kar K'hampa daughter of Tsewang Norbu. With her came two male members of her family, and a former Tibetan monk from the monastery of Tashi Lumpo (*bKra-shis Lhun-po*) in Tsang (*gTsang*), in central Tibet. This man's name was Lobsang (*bLo-bZang*) and he proved as knowledgeable a guide concerning everything Tibetan as I could have wished for. Married since he had left the monastery, he and his wife brought their two boys along with them, the youngest being only just over five years of age. From Leh onwards, we exchanged Dölma's two male relatives for new, Ladaki caravaneers under one Tashi (*bKra-shis*), and it was this man and five of his friends who supplied me with the twenty five pack ponies which we used to carry our belongings from Leh in Ladak to Srinagar. Joseph Gergan accompanied us as far as Kargil.

From our travelling companions I heard during our journey that there was much to study concerning polyandry in Tibet proper. They advised me to try to reach Lhasa and central Tibet if I could, assuring me that in the heart of the country there existed even stranger polyandrous customs than those we had seen on the fringes. They told me that Kalimpong, in the Darjeeling district of the Indian province of Bengal (then undivided), would be a good starting point. Taking their advice, after returning to Lahore from Srinagar in November, we set off in our car to cross practically the whole of northern India, arriving by road in Kalimpong just before Christmas, 1938.

In this very attractive town, situated at the beginning of the main Trade Route to central Tibet, I was able to gather much information concerning Tibetan customs and ways of life. So rewarding was the search and so pleasant did Kalimpong appear to us, that I resolved there and then to return some day for a longer stay. I also contacted those officials of the Government of India (then British) who were responsible for allowing foreign travellers into Tibet, and made arrangements for it to be possible for us to obtain permission to go to Lhasa when we next visited this part of the world. We then left for south India, to work among the Todas and the inhabitants of Malabar.

Our way lay over Calcutta, by train to Nagpur and Bombay, where I purchased a new car, having sold the old one in Calcutta on our way through. We made excursions to Poona, Goa and Hyderabad, and from there went on to Bezwada and Madras. After our visits to Pondicherry and places of archaelogical interest in the Tamil country, we motored up to the Nilgiris, taking a house for the summer of 1939, in Coonoor.